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Washington, D.C. 20520

Executive Registry

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MEMORANDUM TO DISTRIBUTION LIST A

FROM: OTTO J. REICH *6/13*

SUBJECT: Public Diplomacy Calendar, Church Leader Quotes,
Excerpt from National Review

Enclosed are three items of interest:

1. Updated Public Diplomacy Calendar;
2. A variety of quotations by Salvadoran Church leaders, which can be used in discussions with foreign nationals, in speeches, or as a handout to refute inaccuracies or misconceptions about the Church position in El Salvador today;
3. "Latin America Watch" column excerpted from National Review; includes interesting tidbits such as Tomas Borge's statement that the opposition in Nicaragua had about as much chance of winning the election as he has of "boarding a spaceship and flying to Jupiter."

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NOVEMBER

- Nov. 3-20 11th International Trade Fair of El Salvador.
- Nov. 12-19 OAS General Assembly in Brasilia. Secretary Shultz to attend opening.
- Nov. 17-20 National Governors Conference in Kansas City, MO.
- Nov. 23-24 Gesellschaft fuer Auslandskunde (Society for Foreign Studies) seminar on "Central America in Crisis" in Munich. Amb. Luers invited to participate.
- Nov. 25 Presidential elections in Uruguay.
- Nov. 27-30 AP Managing Editors Convention in Miami.
- Nov. 28-30 NALEO (Hispanic) conference in New York.
- Nov. 30-
Dec. 2 International Law and Practice section of American Bar Association meeting in San Antonio. Theme: Administration of Justice. Bar leaders from selected Central American countries invited to participate.

DECEMBER

- Dec. 3 Elections in Grenada.
- Dec. 3-5 Radio/TV News Directors Association Convention in San Antonio.
- Dec. 3-7 Caribbean Central American Action holds its 8th annual conference and business exposition on Caribbean trade, investment and development at Hyatt-Regency Hotel in Miami.
- Dec. 7-10 Western Hemisphere Legislative Leaders Forum, sponsored by Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, in Santa Barbara, California. Rep. Michael Barnes and Rep. Robert J. Lagomarsino will host.
- Dec. 14-20 American Legion National Commander, Clarence M. Bacon, visits Costa Rica and El Salvador.

NATIONAL REVIEW
5 OCTOBER 1984
Pg. 20

Latin America Watch

AN ESTIMATED 500,000 Salvadorans have been forced to flee their homes because of guerrilla attacks. . . . Moscow will begin constructing major air and naval bases on the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe off the West African coast. Observers believe these islands will be forward support centers for Cuban troops defending the Luanda regime in Angola. . . . Tomás Borge, leader of the pro-Soviet hard-line faction within the Sandinista regime, told West German journalists that the prospects of the democratic opposition's winning in the upcoming elections equaled his prospects of "boarding a spaceship and flying to Jupiter." . . . Borge recently attended Communist celebrations in Ethiopia and Libya. In Tripoli, he opened negotiations to buy several MiGs and Mirage fighter planes. He also reviewed Libyan troops, along with Louis Farrakhan. . . . A poll conducted by the Interdisciplinary Development Consultants shows that 79 per cent of Costa Ricans look with disfavor on the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, while 4 per cent support it.

Statements by Salvadoran Church Leaders

In discussions about Central America and particularly El Salvador, many critics of U.S. policy have quoted men of the cloth, for example, Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, in an effort to portray the United States as an superpower that supports right wing death squads in El Salvador and militarization of the region. These negative quotations usually date from the period 1979-1980.

Much has changed in El Salvador since 1980 and many of the statements made about human rights abuses are not representative of the situation in 1984. During the past two years, the Government of El Salvador has carried out successful democratic elections, pressed forward with political and agrarian reform, and succeeded in curbing sharply violence from the extreme right. The statements by Salvadoran Catholic Church leaders have reflected the changing reality in El Salvador.

Since the presidential elections in May 1984, the Catholic Church has been even more critical of guerrilla activities in homilies and in San Salvador's Catholic Diocese weekly "Orientacion," which usually represents the position of the Church on important issues. The Catholic Church has condemned guerrilla activities such as destroying economic infrastructure, burning buses, blowing up power and communication lines, forcefully recruiting youths into guerrilla ranks, and demanding power sharing between the Government and the FMLN/FDR.

Furthermore, the Catholic Church has stated that human rights and control over death squads has improved notably. Although the Church opposes arms flow in Central America, it has never held that U.S. military aid should be halted unilaterally.

These quotations of Salvadoran Church leaders can be used in discussions with foreign nationals, in speeches, or as a handout to refute inaccuracies or misconceptions about the Church position in El Salvador today.

1984 QUOTES BY SALVADORAN CHURCH LEADERS

DUARTE ADMINISTRATION STRUGGLE AGAINST POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Archbishop Rivera y Damas' September 2 Homily:

There has been a notable improvement, as much as could be expected in a country at war, and in a situation so serious and complex.

GUERRILLA REBELS

Editorial from July 8 edition of San Salvador Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

...the guerrilla actions cannot be justified at all. Their banners are no longer clean, nor can they find any reasonable or valid arguments for their incredible destruction of which the people, and only the people are the victims, as hunger, unemployment, suffering, and moral anguish increase for the Salvadorans. The kind of democracy and justice they proclaim as their intended goal is very doubtful....

* * *

That is why the church has condemned the inhumane and unpopular actions of the guerrillas. That is why they [the guerrillas] are angry and have violently criticized the auxiliary Bishop Msgr. Gregorio Rosa Chavez on Radio Venceremos....

* * *

The guerrillas don't want to believe that their methods can be wrong and that the people are not with them.

Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez's July 1 Homily:

This, then, is the great question the guerrillas have to ask themselves. No matter how often they attempt to justify their actions of sabotage with arguments that they fight against the government, against oppression and what they call the oligarchy, it is the people who ultimately pay the price. It is the people who suffer when the guerrillas down the towers that carry the cables of electric power; it is the people who suffer when the guerrillas dynamite telephone installations; it is the people who suffer when the guerrillas recruit youths by force; and, it is the people who suffer when the guerrillas kidnap, demand their famous war tax or devote themselves to burning vehicles as they did recently. If they continue along that path, as they increase in military strength, the weaker they will be politically and will have even less space in the heart of the people. Therefore, I ask myself, in whose favor are they really fighting?

Havana International (radio) Service, July 5, 1984, comment on Bishop Rosa Chavez's July 1 Homily:

The FMLN has expressed concern over the rightist turn they have observed in the national Catholic Church's position, which was obvious in the homily presented last Sunday by Gregorio Rosa Chavez, Auxiliary Bishop of San Salvador. On this occasion he criticized the Salvadoran rebels for temporarily occupying the Cerron Grande Dam, one of the most far reaching actions carried out by the patriotic forces of that Central American country.

The Salvadoran priests even support the regime's demand that the guerrillas unarm as a requirement for initiating any kind of negotiations.

Editorial from June 24 edition of San Salvador Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

The guerrilla is unjust, totally unjust, and cannot legitimize his actions. He goes against the will of the people who have rejected him and want to make their own way. He is unjust in his methods, in wanting to damage the country's economy, breaking it off at its base: Damaging the family economy, since his actions go against the small businessman when he burns buses and trucks.

Everything is for them a military objective and everything serves the cause. Their objective is to seize power.

Editorial from May 20 edition of San Salvador Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

[The guerrillas] are in a hurry to attain power.... they not only attack army garrisons and patrols but also take over small towns with no strategic importance, with the only purpose of increasing the chaos, forcing the inhabitants to abandon their homes, and thereby increasing the number of people in the displaced persons camps and the misery villages surrounding the larger cities.

. . . We can say with absolute certainty that the three elections in a two-year period have constituted a true plebescite in which the people have expressed their will, their faith in democracy, their desire for peace, their rejection of violence, and their intrinsic condemnation of the guerrillas.

Therefore, the Salvadoran people must be protected in their rights, encouraged in their hopes, and protected against an enemy that forces them to flee their fields, who destroys their

places of work, who impedes their efforts to achieve peace, who has obstructed the democratic process.

To fight the enemy we must have money to generate work and arms to defend the people's rights.

Editorial from May 13 edition of San Salvador Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

From a political point of view and regarding respect for human rights, this country is no paradise. There is violence and repression and some civic rights are curtailed, though we could say that this is not done for the fun of it: We're burdened by the pressures of a country at war, struggling against a group of Salvadorans bent on total destabilization, daily engaged in violent acts such as kidnappings, "executions," sabotage, and so forth. In the social field, there is the reform process that needs time to consolidate and bear fruit. Besides, we now have a more clearly defined democratic process which places us on the same course as other free nations.

* * *

In all honesty, we're not the same people that we were a long time ago in our historical past; and least of all, we're not the same country of the (Colonel) Molina and General Romero years, when political and economic conditions offered no hope for the people.

FORCED RECRUITMENT BY GUERRILLAS

Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez's June 10 Homily:

We cannot be silent before such barbarism. We must condemn those who kidnap in order to fill their pockets, or as a political weapon to free their detained comrades, or in order to force an unjust negotiated solution to the national crisis. No one has the right to bring this additional suffering on a nation in which no family has escaped the blows of violence.

ARMS FLOW TO CENTRAL AMERICA

Archbishop Rivera y Damas' August 12 Homily:

I am against all arms flow to Central America and especially to El Salvador. My words, however, should not be interpreted to be a unilateral condemnation in only one sense. The problem is complex. The complexity of the problem demands serious study and public debate because it is central to our brothers' lives.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY

Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez's September 23 Homily:

The Church cannot accept that the Marxist line be adopted in order to defend the poor as this would lead to the acceptance of class struggle and even of the use of violence. Experience has demonstrated that when this path is followed, in the end, the poor are submitted to new types of slavery while also being deprived of the treasure of religious faith.

NICARAGUA

Column from August 5 edition of San Salvador Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

...it is reported that they (the Sandinistas) have one hundred medium Soviet tanks and twenty light amphibious tanks, and also dozens of small military installations, some of them in buildings that used to house civilian institutions.

We can choose to not believe this report entirely. It is possible that they may have twenty medium Soviet tanks, perhaps they have only five instead of twenty amphibious tanks. But what is true--and not even the most skeptical person can deny it--is that there has been an arms flow into Nicaragua. And there is an interesting angle here: there have been voices condemning U.S. military assistance to El Salvador but nothing has been said about Soviet military aid to Nicaragua. The simple truth is that Nicaragua is granted a right which is refused to El Salvador. It is not that we are bellicose or hawkish; rather, we don't want to be considered naive for thinking that Nicaragua has established compulsory military service for physical and cultural reasons only, and that it is arming itself for the sole purpose of having colorful military parades on July 19 (the Sandinista revolutionary anniversary).

Editorial from June 24 edition of San Salvador, Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

La Prensa has suspended publication on 23 occasions, since the current leftist regime instituted press censorship in March 1982, apart from the seven shutdowns it has suffered by order of the Ministry of the Interior.

This kind of "democracy" is the system that the people in the hills and their leaders in Managua and Mexico pretend to install in our country.

Just as totalitarian countries of the right undermine freedom with the principle of "national security," the totalitarian governments of the left undermine the same liberties in the name of "Defense of the Revolution."

TOTALITARIANISM

Bishop Rosa Chavez's July 8 Homily:

The Church is an annoyance for all forms of totalitarianism--both of the right and of the left--for both oppress mankind despite their claims that they seek his liberation.

DIALOGUE

Editorial from August 26 edition of San Salvador Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

There is nothing there of the unacceptable demands proposed by the FDR/FMLN to find a solution to the Salvadoran crisis. It is obvious that these groups, when proposing such dialogue, are looking for a way to grab and consolidate their political power through the Ministry of the Interior, which they claim for themselves; a reorganization of the armed forces to include their own comandantes and guerrilla militants; control of the educational system. Then, of course, there would be elections when their victory is assured through the votes of all the youths indoctrinated during two or three years.

That is the kind of political solution that the FDR/FMLN really wants. That is the kind of dialogue that the Salvadoran leftists are crying for, portraying themselves as men of peace. It is a "tactical dialogue" to grab power.

Editorial from July 29 edition of San Salvador Diocesan Weekly "Orientacion":

The question of a dialogue is especially difficult because of its ambivalent nature. A concrete dialogue which calls for political conditions, control over the educational system, control over the military, and political control, such as that promoted by the FMLN and the FDR, is one thing. Dialogue in the abstract, as a humane value based on the Gospels' teachings, which can bring man understanding and peace, is quite another.

ELECTIONS

Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez's March 25 Homily:

I think that the solution is clear: one must opt for the democratic way--which goes through elections....The peoples of the world are watching us. I hope that they know how to grasp the profound motivation which brings Salvadorans to the electoral urns--the conviction that it is possible to achieve peace through non-violent means.

Auxiliary Bishop Gregorio Rosa Chavez's May 6 Homily:

In our convulsed history, the impossible can definitively begin to become possible today thanks to the presidential elections which are taking place throughout almost the entire country in spite of the insistent interference of the guerrillas.

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